

THE CATHOLIC MIND

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PACIFISM AND MILITARISM ARE OPPOSED AS EXTREMES

WILLIAM F. DRUMMOND, S.J.

WITHOUT CHRIST AMERICA WILL NOT HAVE TRUE PEACE

REV. EDWIN RYAN, D.D.

A BASIS FOR REAL PEACE IS JUSTICE AND CHARITY

THOMAS J. LYMAN, S.J.

A RETURN TO THE PRINCIPLES OF THE FOUNDING FATHERS

DR. ROBERT H. CONNERY

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THE CATHOLIC MIND

VOL. XXXVIII JULY 8, 1940

No. 901

Pacifism and War

WILLIAM F. DRUMMOND, S.J.

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AMONG the philosophies of war, there are two errors which are opposed as extremes: Militarism and Pacifism. The first, Militarism, glorifies war as a necessary adjunct of human life; the second, Pacifism, condemns all war as intrinsically evil.

The error of Militarism is easily detected. Human reason and every instinct of the human heart shrink from its dogma that "might makes right."

The error of Pacifism, on the other hand, is more deceptive. For Pacifism covers itself with the cloak of religion. It claims to be the very essence of Christianity. It professes to be based on the words of Christ contained in Holy Scripture.

According to the pacifist, the summary of Christ's teaching is the Sermon on the Mount which enjoins: love of enemies, submission to injury, abandonment of rights. Christ exhorts to "turn the other cheek," "to do good to those that hate you." He pronounces a benediction on the meek—on those who suffer persecution. War, on the other hand, is insistence on rights, exaction of reparation, resentment of ill-treatment.

War, therefore, holds the pacifist, is absolutely opposed to the principles of Christ and can never be permitted.

This, according to the teaching of Catholic tradition, is a misinterpretation of Scripture. The Sermon on the Mount does not brand war as always evil. The answer to the apparent contradiction between these words of Christ and the admission of the permissibility of war is to be found in the distinction that Christ's teaching is concerned directly with individuals, and only indirectly with States. And to individuals is proposed, for their voluntary acceptance, a more perfect way of life over and above what is necessary for salvation, a choice which is not offered to States.

WAR MAY BE LEGITIMATE

This does not mean that there is a double moral code. States and individuals are bound by the same moral law of God. But that moral law has various precepts, and the incidence of those precepts is different in the case of individuals and of States. They have different natures and destinies.

The individual is immortal—his destiny is eternal. Consequently, he may sacrifice a temporal good—a right in the temporal order in view of eternal bliss. Such sacrifice may even be demanded as in the case of the martyrs.

But the State has no such eternal destiny. It must secure its well-being here on earth. It exists, moreover, not for its own sake, but for the sake of its members. Its main purpose is the protection of human rights and it cannot arbitrarily lay aside this trust. It is bound by the law of God itself which brings the State into existence to labor for the interests of its members. There is no room in the scheme of things for a martyr State yielding to a violation of the rights of its citizens without an attempt at self-defense.

War, therefore, may be legitimate, Catholic tradition teaches; it may even be the duty of the State, for it may be the only means of protecting the moral order of justice. But this admission of the permissibility of war does not imply that the Church looks on war as a normal condition of international relations. The Church desires and works for peace no less sincerely than the pacifist. But peace is not merely absence of conflict; it is not merely tranquillity; it is the tranquillity of order—of the order required by justice and charity.

War, in the eyes of the Church, is a scourge; it is likened in the prayers of the Church to pestilence and famine; it is an evil which can only be reluctantly admitted as a necessary evil when all other resistance to grave moral injustice has failed. And the sad reluctance with which Catholic tradition admits the permissibility of war is nowhere better manifested than in the stringent conditions it lays down for a just war.

CONDITIONS OF A JUST WAR

The conditions of a just war are conditions which pertain to: (1) The cause of war—its inception. (2) The conduct of war—its prosecution. (3) The settlement of war.

First, as to the cause of war: A war to be a just war must have as its motive the defense or vindication of a right unjustly attacked or violated. Every just war is in this sense a defensive war. It must be a defense of the moral order of justice. But merely the violation of a national right does not immediately give the right to take up arms. The right violated must fulfil certain other conditions.

(1) It must be a certain right; the lawfulness of the claim of the offended country must not be doubtful.

(2) It must be a right of national importance because in the means taken to defend it the national life is risked.

There must be a proportion, in other words, between the evil and damage that necessarily accompany war and the good to be attained through war as a means. War can only be undertaken that good may be promoted and evil avoided. Therefore, if the prosecution of the war entails a greater evil than that which it seeks to correct, such a war ceases to be the lesser evil; it cannot be pursued that good may be promoted.

Especially now is the condition hard to fulfil. The weapons of war are today so much more destructive than in the days of old, the damage inflicted is so much more indiscriminate that it is always to be feared that greater injury will be done through the use of war than the injury which it seeks to repair.

Besides the disproportion which arises from the use of modern armaments, there is another source of disproportion today: the close connection and the intertwining of the interests of all the States of the world. Inventions of science, means of communication have brought the nations of the world into conditions of closest interdependence. War today is not limited by natural geographic boundaries; its effects are felt wherever these arteries of our civilization extend. War in Europe has its effects, economic and political, here across the ocean in our own country; it causes suffering and disturbance not only in the war-torn areas but in all parts of the world.

The cause indeed must be great; it must be the cause of civilization itself which will be proportionate to such evil.

WAR AS A LAST MEANS

Granted that these conditions are fulfilled, war is not yet justified except as the last means of the vindication of such a right. Every means of a peaceful, diplomatic settlement of the dispute must have been tried and have failed before recourse to brute force is legitimate. Men are rational animals, not brutes;

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force is only the last resort. Though the cause may be just (as outlined), if the offended party does not first take every possible human means to settle peaceably, that country is not just in its fighting.

As regards the conduct or prosecution of the war, the means used in waging war must conform to moral standards or the war even though it were just in its inception and cause, ceases to be just. The end or cause, no matter how good, never justifies an immoral means.

These conditions of the conduct of war cover the whole range of human actions involved in the war. Of these we select but one: war which involves the direct killing of non-combatants becomes immoral and prohibited.

In time of war the commandment "Thou shalt not kill" still prevails. Taking the lives of the innocent is prohibited at all times and in all circumstances. The natural law grants to individuals and to States the right to resist the attack of an unjust aggressor with physical force. This force, moreover, may go to the length of taking the life of the unjust aggressor, but only under the condition that this extreme be the only means of repelling the actual unjust attack. In a just war, the active army of the enemy is an unjust aggressor, against whom such force can be used, but only to the extent indicated.

Therefore, even in the case of men in the field of battle, taking of life is only justified when it is the only means of repelling attack. Consequently, if the enemy can be forced to yield without the taking of his life, the plea of defense against an unjust aggressor will not justify killing. Consequently, too, the principle of "no quarter" on the field of battle is an immoral principle; the killing of men who have been wounded and are helpless is murder; the killing or inhuman treatment of prisoners of war is unjustifiable and sinful. And the nation which admits these

practices is morally wrong in its conduct of war and its war becomes unjust.

MASS MURDER FROM THE AIR

Now if this be true of men on the field of battle, evidently the bombing of civilian populations in open cities and towns, the killing of non-combatants by direct intention, must be condemned absolutely. It is urged that today it is difficult to draw the line between combatants and non-combatants; that today it is not merely armies which fight in war, but whole nations as closely knit economic units. It is true that in some cases the distinction is drawn with difficulty but even today there are those who by no stretch of the imagination can be classed among the aggressors; they are innocent.

Yet there is a theory of war today which holds that victory is to be sought by the indiscriminate bombing of such innocents. The theory aims at a quick victory by destroying the morale of a nation. The people are to be brought to their knees in fear of sudden death from the skies, and in their fear they will bring pressure on their own Government to sue for an early peace. A nation which pursues such a policy stands condemned in its prosecution of war. Such a policy is nothing else than mass murder.

But suppose that the enemy has first adopted the tactics of bombing the non-combatant population, may a nation adopt similar tactics by way of retaliation? To adopt this policy even as a method of reprisal is morally wrong. Two wrongs never make a right.

The killing of the innocent by direct intention, such as is the purpose of indiscriminate bombing, is prohibited by the natural law of God; and no reason, neither utility, nor expediency, nor desire of a quick war, nor the plea that only by using this means can the enemy be made to stop using the same means, can allow the violation of the natural law.

A CHRISTIAN PROGRAM OF PEACE

Finally, there are those conditions most difficult of fulfilment, which govern the settlement of the war once victory has been won. Since the only just object of war is the restoration of peace and since peace is the fruit of justice and charity, the settlement of war too must grow from these seeds. The extermination of the conquered people, whether it be the physical extermination that was the practice of barbarous tribes, or whether it be the more civilized extermination of our own days consisting in the economic crushing of the defeated nation, finds no justification according to the canons of either charity or justice. Revenge is no part of Christian morality, nor is it the basis of stable peace. Restitution for damages inflicted in the course of the struggle may be demanded by the victor in a just war, as may the restoration of that right whose violation by the aggressor precipitated the war. But victory gives no further claim to territorial conquest. Might does not make right, and victory in war gives no further right of conquest than the restoration of the order of justice.

Had the victorious nations of the last world war heeded the words of Pope Benedict XV, written to the leaders of the belligerent peoples in 1917, there might today be no roaring of the engines of war in Europe. At that time, as an impartial judge and universal father, he laid down the conditions of a just and lasting peace. "First of all," he wrote, "the fundamental point must be that the moral force of Right shall be substituted for the material force of Arms; thence must follow a just agreement of all for the simultaneous and reciprocal diminution of armaments . . . next, as a substitution for armies, the institution of arbitration, with its high peace-making function. . . . Once the supremacy of Right is thus established, let all obstacles to the free intercourse of people be swept

aside. . . . As to the damage to be made good and the cost of war, we see no other way of solving the question but to lay down, as a general principle, an entire and reciprocal condonation. . . . But these peaceful agreements, with the immense advantages which flow from them, are not possible without reciprocal restitution of territories at the moment occupied."

In such a program all bitterness and hatred is excluded; it is the program of justice tempered by warm charity; it is the Christian program of peace.

Peace in America

REV. EDWIN RYAN, D.D.

Sermon preached at the Pan-American Mass in the Shrine of the Immaculate Conception, Catholic University of America, April 14, 1940.

AS God had made individual human beings different from one another, so that no two are cast in precisely the same mold, so has He made nations different, bestowing on each its distinctive gifts, each possessing qualities and powers that mark it off from its fellows. There is in this God-established variety a lofty purpose. Mankind is fundamentally one. All men are brothers, because all men are children of the one Father Who is in Heaven. Therefore, the apportioning of gifts among mankind is not intended to separate men into groups each holding itself aloof from the others, still less is it intended for the purpose of encouraging one nation to consider itself superior to others and entitled by virtue of that imagined superiority to seek to dominate others, imposing on them its culture and its will. Whenever a nation acts in that manner, taking advantage of its greater physical force to violate the sovereignty of a fellow nation, it acts against the purpose of God, the source of civil authority, in Whose eyes each people under Heaven has a

divine right to be free, a right which must be respected. Rather, that very variety by which races and nations are distinguished, that variety by which one nation excels in one sphere and another nation in another sphere, is meant by the common Father of *all* nations to provide an opportunity for friendly intercourse among the peoples that constitute the human race. For the gifts of each are intended for all. Whether it be material wealth or intellectual advance or artistic progress, whatever natural endowments a nation has received from God, its duty is to cultivate them not exclusively for its own welfare but also for the welfare of its sister nations.

The philosophy of Greece, the law of Rome, the painting of Spain, the music of Germany, the literature of England—they are not meant by God to be enjoyed solely by the peoples who under Him have produced them but are the birthright of all mankind. They are God's blessings to His children, and a given people appears at its noblest and best when it serves as a channel through which the blessings of God flow out upon the broad area of Humanity, fertilizing and enriching every corner of that vast field. God has made us different in order that we should help one another; He has made us different in order to bring us together; He has made us different in order to make us *one*. The race of Man is meant by God to constitute, as it were, a mighty orchestra made up of many choirs of instruments delivering each its allotted portion of the score and thus cooperating toward the production of a single harmonious effect.

JESUS CHRIST IS OUR LEADER

But to regulate the various instruments and co-ordinate them into unity requires that they all submit to a single leader, and God in His goodness and mercy has provided that leader in the person of His own incarnate Son. Jesus Christ is our Leader. He came on

earth, to quote His own words, "that they may be one, as Thou, Father, in Me and I in Thee." "He is our Peace, Who has made both one." He, the Head of the Human Race, He it is to Whom we must look for guidance and direction, He it is that assigns to each nation the role it is to play, He is the source of that "diversity of gifts" which render one people a leader in one sphere and render another people a leader in another sphere, in order that each nation may by its distinctive contribution take its part in the harmony of praise that wells up from Earth to Heaven.

It is in humble acknowledgment of His leadership that we, representing the varied and diverse peoples of America, assemble here this morning. We are of different races, of different languages, of different historical and cultural backgrounds, because God has made us different and He intends us to remain so. We assemble here, not to suppress or even to ignore those differences, but to harmonize them by making of them, in all their wondrously beautiful variety, a single offering on the altar of the Son of God. Here in this spot hallowed by the sacrifice of the Body and Blood of Christ is to be found the perfect expression of that unity amid variety which would flourish in every spot on Earth if Jesus Christ were listened to and permitted to have His way. Whatever differences of racial temperament and outlook may be represented here, those differences are fused into a higher unity, for in His sacramental presence we, being many, become *one*.

I remember how that was brought home to me years ago when I found myself in a remote village of the Andes. Far from my country and without a single companion, I felt keenly my loneliness among people whose appearance, whose speech, whose way of life were so different from all I could call my own—until I entered the church on Sunday morning and joined those same people kneeling in worship. At once the

sense of loneliness vanished, yielding to a sense of kinship which rendered the very differences attractive and beautiful. I felt drawn to those people by a bond more powerful than any other, the bond of a common Faith. And what took place in my heart took place in theirs also, for when a few minutes later I myself, clothed in the vestments of a priest, approached the altar to offer the sacrifice of the Eucharist, they drew near and knelt about me to offer that sacrifice through my hands. The fact that I was a stranger from afar, that in race, in temperament, in training we were as different from one another as human beings can be, was melted in the deeper fact that in Faith we were one.

That experience can be paralleled by many a traveler in Latin America who, when in his loneliness he yearns for his country and his home, has been cheered and strengthened by the consciousness of a common brotherhood before the altar.

THE PEACE OF MANKIND

And that this is no mere empty sentiment but a vitally practical truth is evinced eloquently by a monument here in our own America. We are all familiar with the Christ of the Andes, that statue of Our Saviour which stands on the boundary of Argentina and Chile as a pledge of perpetual peace between those two nations. We know the history back of it: At a time when war threatened to break out between them the bond of their religion sufficed to hold them together and caused them to settle their differences as Christians should always settle their differences, in the cool light of reason and the warm light of faith. And if today there are down there men who instead of being cripples or corpses are living happy lives, doing their work in the world and surrounded by their children and their children's children, it is because in those two countries Christian love prevailed over human weakness and

Christ was acknowledged King. And what has been done for those two nations of America can be done for *all* the nations of America and for all the nations of the world. Yes, for all the nations of the world.

We must not forget that in striving for peace in the western hemisphere we have as our ultimate goal the peace of mankind. True, America constitutes a special region with its special interests, and as such it is distinct from the rest of the world. But, though it is distinct, it is not separate. We do not want to cut ourselves off from other regions in a sort of pharisaical self-righteousness as though we were better than the rest of men. On the contrary, we hope that *all* nations will share in whatever blessings God has bestowed upon us, and most of all in the blessing of peace. And for that reason we wish to keep our own house in order. We cannot give peace to others if we have not peace ourselves. Consequently, everyone who exerts himself toward promoting friendliness among the nations of America is a world-wide benefactor, while any attempt at weakening that bond of Catholic faith that holds us together is an act of treachery not to America alone but to all the world.

KEEP AMERICA AT PEACE

For it seems that in the present lamentable state of Europe our hemisphere is destined to render a supreme service. A glance at history will make this clear. When, centuries ago, law and order were collapsing in western Europe and her civilization seemed tottering to a crash, the cultural heritage of Greece and Rome took refuge in the then remote and sequestered lands of Ireland and Spain. There the twin lamps of art and science were kept burning while the continent of Europe was in semi-darkness, until the emergence of a new political and social order made it safe to return them to the lands of their origin, there to burn with renewed and ever-increasing vigor until

they blazed into the glory of the Middle Ages. What was done then by the monasteries of Ireland and Spain to preserve the culture of Europe may have to be done again by America, north, central and south. It may well happen that Western Civilization will be forced to flee to a land where it may be kept alive against the day when Europe will have recovered from the effects of war, and the only land to which it can appeal is America.

But America cannot fulfil that noble function unless she is at peace within her own borders, and she will not be at peace if she turns her back on God. Christ has said, "Without Me you can do nothing," and He meant what He said. All our native ingenuity, all our learning, all our cleverness, all our diplomatic skill and tact will be fruitless without His help. Therefore we climax our observance of the fiftieth birthday of the Pan-American Union by assembling in this sacred edifice to worship our Father by offering Him the Body and Blood of His Son. In a few minutes that Body and Blood will be, by the power of the priest, made truly and really and actually present upon this altar, and we shall bow our heads in adoration. At that solemn moment let each of us, silently in his heart, dedicate himself before God to the high and holy purpose of keeping America at peace, so that America may give peace to the world.

The Basis of Peace

THOMAS J. LYMAN, S.J.

Sermon delivered at the Students' Peace Mass, Marquette University, May 26, 1940.

WE may well pray for peace, for lacking it we shall suffer from the scourge of war. War breeds hatreds; it seduces morality; it maims and deals death

to youth. War is the destroyer of the best things that we have produced and inherited; it is the enemy of civilization.

No one need be surprised that today the world has become a theater of almost universal war. The stage has been a-setting for it these four hundred years. Crises in human affairs do not arise over night. They are always preceded by a long prelude of preparation.

The first steps towards our present chaos were taken by the Protestant Reformers in the sixteenth century. The logical consequence of their revolt against spiritual authority was the relegation of religion and the things of God to a secondary place in the life of man. The eighteenth century deified man's reason and tried to exclude God from His own universe, or at least made of Him a kind of "absentee God." Early in the nineteenth century industrial capitalism established the creed of material prosperity: all you need to be happy is money; the more money, the greater happiness. Karl Marx's contribution was to preach the doctrine of State control of some of man's more fundamental rights. In the mid-nineteenth century continental philosophers grew popular through teaching the anti-democratic and un-Catholic theory of the superman, the "hero" possessed of a godlike right to dominate his nation, which theory logically led to our current political phenomenon of dictatorships. In the last one hundred years education has debased itself by taking for its end the training of youth exclusively for this world and this society, altogether neglectful of the other world and God's society.

The whole tendency for the last four hundred years has been away from God and towards man; away from the spiritual and towards the material.

Once this movement has reached its peak, as it has in our twentieth century, all man's problems are to be solved on man's own level; there is to be no recourse

to a higher authority. God, the natural law, and Christ's revelation have all been thrown into the discard. Man will now make the laws; man will decide what is right and wrong, if he retains such values at all; man will make the final judgment on all things. This development has definitely arrived in the creation of the modern supreme state. For many men today, God is gone; in His place, they worship the State as a thing divine. Liberty, justice, religion, even life and death now hang upon the whim of the man-made authority of the State. When major disputes and differences arise among the nations, since they recognize no spiritual authority, the only recourse left is physical conflict, war—with all the horrors that modern invention has given to it.

WITHOUT JUSTICE AND CHARITY NO LASTING PEACE

How can we hope to establish a true and permanent peace, which is a spiritual quality, in a materialistic age like our own? How can we hope to harbor peace in the hearts of men who refuse to recognize the good-will of moral values?

These are good days, if ever there were good days, to be members of the Catholic Church, for the Church alone, with its openly proclaimed Divine Authority, stands as a rock between civilization and ruin. We may well be proud of the leadership that the Providence of God has given us. Our Holy Father constantly and courageously has sounded the call to peace. He has repeatedly endeavored to call the nations back to sanity and urged them to lay the foundations of a true peace. In his Christmas Address of 1939 he indicated the basic qualities upon which, and only upon which, peace can be founded. In particular he pointed out the necessity for the universal exercise of justice and charity. Without these virtues there will be no lasting peace. But justice will not be brought forth from pride, nor hatred, nor the mere grinding down of an

enemy nation. It cannot be arbitrarily produced by worldly wise men in the chancellories of the world, nor around the table of a peace conference from which Christ is excluded. Justice transcends both men and nations because it comes from a higher source than the fallible intellect of man or the strength of worldly governments. The sense of justice was planted in the heart of man by a power higher than himself, by God, his Creator.

Any code of justice that is built up absolutely by man, without any reference to God, the Source of all justice, will prove in the long run to be a fantasy. The sole way of obtaining true justice will be for man and nations to return to an open and unqualified recognition of God's supreme dominion, to see in Him the Father of us all, and the King of Kings, to be ready to weigh and balance in the scales of His justice all questions, whether of economic prosperity, territorial expansion, ethnical rights, or the freedom of peoples.

In saying these things I am at the moment taking no sides in the present conflict, but I do say emphatically that unless a justice of this kind arises behind the Maginot Line and the West Wall and beyond the Channel, there will be no true peace, but only a forced one which will too soon flame up into another and fiercer war.

TRUE PEACE NOT BASED ON JUSTICE ALONE

Our Holy Father points out that justice alone, noble as it is, can hardly achieve true peace, for justice, even though it gives to every man and every nation its due, can be a fearful thing. Justice demands an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth. It is cold, exacting down to the last dollar or the last drop of blood; it is without sympathy, without understanding; it makes no provision for the weaknesses of human nature. Consider the terror that would wrack your heart and mine did we know that we were to be judged sole-

ly by the justice of God with no admixture of His infinite mercy and charity. A peace, therefore, which is based only upon justice will in all likelihood be a cold, heartless and bitter one.

Men must deal with men as men; we all have a common destiny to work out. Every one of us, no matter what his color, his language, or his religion, is a son of God and the brother of Christ redeemed by His precious blood. Unfortunately, the spirit of our machine age has distorted our view. Too often we see in our fellow man only one more cog in a vast world machine, and we practise scarcely more charity to him than we do to the motor which runs our car. And as with men, so with States. Charity is being laughed out of the councils of the nations pretty much as it has already been laughed out of the directors' meetings of Big Business. And yet without charity we will all ultimately be like beasts of the jungle and like them we will settle all our differences with tooth and claw and blood and stark death. Victory will come to one side in this war and a peace conference will be called, but if the hatred at the battlefield is permitted to slink in and take a place at the conference table, it will make a travesty of any peace treaty that issues from the meeting. No, hatred must be banned; it must not be permitted to have a place even in the ante-room of the conference; it must yield place to charity, the charity that will temper justice.

We Catholics are not afraid of war any more than any normal people are. All history shows a record of our unfailing bravery. Whenever it was necessary Catholics have fought unto death in defense of their natural liberties of family, home, religion and nation. But because we are Catholics we love peace more than war and we believe that it should be used only as a last and desperate measure for national and civic defense.

Civic Education

DR. ROBERT H. CONNERY

From an address to the Catholic Press Association by the Director of the Commission on American Citizenship of the Catholic University.

I DO not believe that we are immediately threatened with dictatorship in this country, nor, if dictatorship does come, do I believe it will take the same form as in Italy, Germany, or Russia. Our traditions and our historical backgrounds are different from those of Europe. If dictatorship does come in America, it will probably take the form of a dictatorship to prevent dictatorships. But what we do need here and now is the revival of a philosophy of national unity, in a word, a revival of the concept of civic responsibility, as opposed to group interest. If we do not evolve a satisfactory democratic philosophy suited to our day and our time, then others will impart an alien philosophy, the consequences of which will be most serious to us as Americans and Catholics.

It is for this very reason, more than any other, that we must as a nation rediscover our fundamental philosophy of political life. It is here in this search for truth that we as Catholics and Americans can make our greatest contribution.

The dictatorships of Europe today have frequently witnessed violations of fundamental human rights. We in America may some day witness similar violations unless we learn the correlation of the principle of individual liberty, *i. e.*, there are no rights without corresponding duties. Not only have men as individuals the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness but they have civic responsibilities towards the

nation as individuals and as members of various occupational groups.

What are the duties the farmers as individuals and as a group owe to the nation? What are the responsibilities of capital? What does labor owe to the nation? What are the civic duties of various professional groups, the doctors, the lawyers, the teachers? What are the civic responsibilities of the press and, in particular, of the Catholic Press?

In a nation such as ours, the press together with other fact-finding agencies, such as the radio and to a somewhat lesser extent the movies, has the important function of aiding in the formation of public opinion. The press must present the whole truth if Americans are to be supplied with facts upon which to base their opinions. This is good journalism as well as good Americanism. The Catholic press can go one step further. In this period of crisis, it can make a definite contribution to a philosophy of national unity. Since basic American ideals are essentially Catholic ideals, it can plan an important part in making both Catholic and non-Catholic opinion conscious of that fact. We, as Catholics, are not an alien outpost set down in the midst of a hostile country. The American founding fathers are inheritors of a glorious past built upon a Christian philosophy. We Catholics today stand as their heirs and it is our duty and, in particular, the duty of the Catholic press to make that fact widely known.

The Catholic Church in America today is faced with a situation which is at once a challenge and an opportunity. It is a challenge because during the next few years the Church must decide whether it will let other groups, which may be hostile to Christianity, interpret our American philosophy of government. It must decide whether it will let other groups define the terms Americanism, democracy, civil rights, and citizenship. We Catholics must decide whether we will

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